

Message Text

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 04 PARIS 09765

EXDIS

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: OVIP (VANCE, CYRUS) PFOR FR US UR
SUBJECT: DRAFT MEMCON: FRENCH FOREIGN MINISTER AND
SECRETARY, APRIL 2

1. THERE FOLLOWS A DRAFT UNCLEARED MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION COVERING THE CONTINUATION OF THE BREAKFAST MEETING BETWEEN FOREIGN MINISTER GUIRINGAUD AND HIS SENIOR SUBORDINATES, WITH THE SECRETARY AND HIS PARTY. PARTICIPANTS WERE THE SAME AS AT THE BREAKFAST, WITH THE ADDITION OF DIRECTOR OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS HENRI FROMENT-MEURICE, DIRECTOR OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS GUY GEORGY, DIRECTOR OF EUROPEAN AFFAIRS JACQUES ANDREANI AND DIRECTOR OF POLICY PLANNING THIERRY DE MONTBRIAL ON THE FRENCH SIDE AND OF MESSRS. SLOCOMBE AND TARNOFF ON THE AMERICAN SIDE. THE MEETING RESUMED AT 11:45 AND LASTED UNTIL 12:45 AT THE QUAI D'ORSAY.

2. DJIBOUTI: FOREIGN MINISTER GUIRINGAUD LISTED FOR THE ENLARGED MEETING SOME OF THE TOPICS COVERED IN THE RESTRICTED MEETING BETWEEN THE SECRETARY AND PRESIDENT GISCARD. TURNING TO DJIBOUTI, HE ASKED FOR AN EARLY OPENING OF THE US CONSULATE TO BE ESTABLISHED THERE. HE HOPED THAT US ECONOMIC AID MIGHT ALSO BE AVAILABLE FOR THE NEW REPUBLIC. ASKED THE DIMENSIONS OF TOTAL
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AID REQUIREMENTS, THE FOREIGN MINISTER SAID IT REQUIRED BETWEEN \$150 AND \$200 MILLION A YEAR TO RUN THE GOVERNMENT AND PROVIDE MILITARY AID. ECONOMIC AID REQUIREMENTS WERE ADDITIONAL. STUDIES WOULD BE NECESSARY, HE BELIEVED, TO MEASURE THE TERRITORY'S ABSORPTIVE CAPACITY, BUT IN ANY CASE IT WOULD NEED A SIZEABLE PERCENTAGE OF TOTAL FRENCH, AFRICAN AID. THE SECRETARY

SAID THAT WE WOULD LOOK INTO THE QUESTION.

3. RHODESIA AND SOUTHERN AFRICA: GUIRINGAUD SAID THAT FRANCE WOULD FOLLOW BRITISH AND US LEAD ON RHODESIA. THE SECRETARY REQUESTED THAT THE DETAILS HE HAD GIVEN THE FOREIGN MINISTER AND PRESIDENT GISCARD OF FOREIGN SECRETARY OWEN'S NEW PLAN BE CLOSELY HELD, SINCE THE BRITISH CABINET HAD NOT YET APPROVED THE PLAN. THE FOREIGN MINISTER SUMMED UP GISCARD'S EARLIER STATEMENT TO THE SECRETARY ON FRANCE'S UNWILLINGNESS TO ISOLATE ITSELF AT THE UN BY VETOING SINGLE-HANDED STRONG RESOLUTIONS INVOKING CHAPTER VII AGAINST SOUTH AFRICA, THOUGH FRANCE DEPLORES THE PRECEDENT THAT WOULD BE CREATED BY SUCH INTERFERENCE IN THE AFFAIRS OF A MEMBER STATE. HE CALLED FOR THE USG TO TAKE A HARD LOOK AT THE IMPLICATIONS OF CHAPTER VII USAGE AS A DANGEROUS PRECEDENT THAT COULD BE USED AGAINST ISRAEL OVER THE OCCUPIED TERRITORIES. IN THAT CASE, HE SAID, THE US OR FRANCE MIGHT HAVE TO USE THE VETO UNDER EVEN MORE UNFAVORABLE CIRCUMSTANCES IN ORDER TO PROTECT ISRAEL.

THE SECRETARY SAID THAT THE US IS VERY SENSITIVE TO THE PROBLEM OF CHAPTER VII AND OF SANCTIONS. WE HOPE TO AVOID IT. HE SAID THAT FRANKNESS REQUIRED HIM TO SAY THAT WE CAN ENVISAGE FUTURE SITUATIONS IN WHICH WE MIGHT HAVE TO FACE UP TO THE QUESTION, THOUGH HE HOPED THIS COULD BE AVOIDED. IN ANY CASE, THE SECRETARY NOTED, WE MUST STAY IN CLOSE CONSULTATIONS. GUIRINGAUD DREW ON HIS LONG UN EXPERIENCE TO SAY THAT CONFIDENTIAL

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HE HAD SOMETIMES FOUND THAT EACH ONE OF THE THREE (US, UK, FRANCE) WOULD EXPECT THAT ONE OF THE OTHER TWO WOULD USE THE VETO ON A TOUGH PROBLEM. NOW, HE EMPHASIZED, FRANCE WOULD NO LONGER CAST UNILATERAL VETOES.

4. US NUCLEAR POLICY: THE FOREIGN MINISTER NOTED THAT HE HAD EARLIER DISCUSSED BOTH CONCORDE AND NON-PROLIFERATION IN HIS TETE-A-TETE WITH THE SECRETARY. TURNING TO THE IMPENDING US STATEMENT ON DOMESTIC NUCLEAR POLICY, HE STRESSED THE IMPORTANCE TO FRANCE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY AND THE FRENCH INTENTION TO CONTINUE NUCLEAR FUEL REPROCESSING BOTH FOR STORAGE AND TO EXPLOIT THE RESIDUAL ENERGY POTENTIAL IN SPENT FUEL.

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HE HOPED THAT OUR DOMESTIC POLICY WOULD NOT BE PHRASED TO HURT FRENCH POLICY BUT WOULD RECOGNIZE THE ESSENTIALITY OF NUCLEAR ENERGY TO OTHER STATES AND ALLOW FOR REPROCESSING UNDER PROPER SAFETY AND HANDLING CONDITIONS, PERHAPS WITH THE GUARANTEE OF LEGAL OBLIGATIONS. HE WOULD DEPLORE A PHRASING WHICH WOULD ENCOURAGE ECOLOGICAL ZEALOTS TO SEEK TO DEPRIVE FRANCE OF NUCLEAR ENERGY RESOURCES. GUIRINGAUD SAID HE COULD NOT OVEREMPHASIZE THE IMPORTANCE OF THIS POWER RESOURCE TO FRENCH INDEPENDENCE. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT HE HAD CAREFULLY NOTED THE FOREIGN MINISTER'S VIEWS.

DE NAZELLE REPORTED BRIEFLY ON HIS JUST CONCLUDED MEETINGS WITH DEPUTY TO THE UNDER SECRETARY NYE. THE SECRETARY WELCOMED THE CLOSE CONTACT BETWEEN US AND FRENCH EXPERTS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER ASKED THAT THE SECRETARY KEEP HIM INFORMED THROUGH THE CHARGE OF INFORMATION ON THE EVOLUTION AND PHRASING OF OUR NUCLEAR POLICY DECLARATION.

5. MIDDLE EAST: THE SECRETARY RAISED THE SUBJECT OF MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT PROSPECTS, DESCRIBING THE WIDE GAPS BETWEEN THE TWO SIDES AND ALSO AMONG THE ARABS ON THE THREE KEY ISSUES OF THE NATURE OF PEACE, BOUNDARIES, AND THE PALESTINIANS, ESPECIALLY THE LATTER. HE SAID
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WE HAD URGED THE ARABS TO SORT THEMSELVES OUT AND HAD URGED SADAT TO SEE ASSAD BEFORE HIS VISIT TO WASHINGTON.

HE LOOKED FORWARD TO LEARNING FROM SADAT IF ANYTHING HAD TRANSPIRED, BUT EXPRESSED SOME DISCOURAGEMENT.

GUIRINGAUD AGREED WITH THE SECRETARY'S ASSESSMENT. HE SAID ASSAD WAS ADAMANT ON A SINGLE ARAB DELEGATION TO GENEVA, HUSSEIN RELUCTANT TO SPEAK FOR THE PALESTINIANS, AND SADAT MORE GENERAL. FAHMY HE FOUND MORE SPECIFIC AND EXPRESSED THE VIEW THAT THERE MIGHT BE ROOM FOR NEGOTIATION ON THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE. ON BOUNDARIES HE SAW MUCH ILLOGIC IN THE ISRAELI VIEW, FELT THAT THE FINAL LINES WOULD BE MOST DIFFICULT TO AGREE ON, BUT SAW SOME ROOM FOR NEGOTIATING ON THE STAGES OF A WITHDRAWAL.

THE FOREIGN MINISTER DESCRIBED THE ISRAELI POSITION ON THE NATURE OF PEACE, AND ACKNOWLEDGED THE GREAT PROGRESS MADE BY THE ARABS, WHO NOW ALL ADMIT ISRAEL'S EXISTENCE. HE HOPED WE WOULD BE ABLE TO INFLUENCE THE ARABS ON THIS SUBJECT, SINCE WE WERE DEALING WITH A MATTER OF WORDS AND ARAB RECOGNITION OF THE PRINCIPLE OF TOTAL PEACE AS DEFINED BY ISRAEL WOULD BE MOST HELPFUL WITH ISRAEL. THE SECRETARY URGED THE FOREIGN MINISTER TO CONTINUE TO PUSH PRESIDENT SADAT AND FOREIGN MINISTER FAHMY IN THIS DIRECTION.

GUIRINGAUD PERCEIVED A REAL DESIRE AND A NEED FOR PEACE AMONG ALL THE ARAB STATES. ISRAEL ON THE OTHER HAND SEEMED PREPARED TO LIVE WITHOUT IT BETTER THAN THE ARABS. HE HAD TRIED TO SWAY THE ISRAELIS BY POINTING TO THE DANGERS THAT DELAYS WOULD RADICALIZE THE ARAB STATES, BUT HIS ISRAELI INTERLOCUTORS REPLIED THAT THIS WAS INEVITABLE IN ANY CASE, WHY HELP PRESENT ARAB LEADERS. THE FOREIGN MINISTER COMMENTED THAT ALL EUROPEANS COULD SEE THAT IF THE MODERATE

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ARABS HAD TO FACE THEIR PUBLICS WITHOUT PROGRESS IN A FEW MONTHS THE SURVIVAL OF THE REGIMES WOULD BE AT STAKE. THIS WOULD OFFER THE SOVIETS LOTS OF MANEUVER ROOM FOR REINSERTING THEMSELVES IN THE AREA.

THE SECRETARY ADDRESSED THE SUBJECT OF THE SOVIET ROLE IN THE SEARCH FOR A MIDDLE EAST SETTLEMENT. HE POINTED TO THE IMPORTANCE TO THE SOVIETS OF THEIR ROLE AS GENEVA CO-CHAIRMAN AND THEIR NEED TO BE SEEN TO BE ACTIVE. THE SECRETARY SAID HE HAD TOLD THEM WE WELCOMED THEIR COOPERATION. HE DISCERNED A SOVIET CAPABILITY TO BLOCK A SETTLEMENT BUT LESS ABILITY TO INFLUENCE THE PARTIES POSITIVELY. THEY HAVE NO INFLUENCE, HE SAID, IN JORDAN OR EGYPT AND NOT MUCH IN SYRIA.

BECAUSE OF THIS, THE SECRETARY CONTINUED, WE SHOULD HELP THEM OUT WITH APPEARANCES, AS IT WOULD BE A MISTAKE TO CAUSE THEM TO LOSE FACE. HE ADDED THAT HE INTENDS TO KEEP THE SOVIETS GENERALLY INFORMED; HE AND GROMYKO WILL DISCUSS THE MIDDLE EAST IN MAY AT GENEVA. THE SECRETARY REPEATED THAT APPEARANCES ARE IMPORTANT TO THE SOVIETS AND WE SHOULD TRY TO KEEP THEM ON BOARD BY BEING HELPFUL TO THAT PURPOSE.

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EXDIS

GUIRINGAUD ASKED WHETHER THE SECRETARY AND GROMYKO HAD AGREED TO RECONVENE THE GENEVA CONFERENCE. THE SECRETARY REPLIED THAT THIS WOULD TAKE PLACE IN THE FUTURE AFTER PROCEDURES HAD BEEN RESOLVED, AS IT WOULD BE A GREAT MISTAKE TO GO TO GENEVA WITH PROCEDURAL PROBLEMS UNSOLVED. THAT, HE SAID, WOULD BE WORSE THAN NOT GOING TO GENEVA AT ALL.

GUIRINGAUD REMARKED THAT THE US WOULD HAVE TO FIND A SOLUTION TO THE PALESTINIAN ISSUE, AND THE SECRETARY RESPONDED THAT WE ALL NEEDED TO DO SO. HE SUMMARIZED THE SCHEDULE OF VISITS BY SADAT, HUSSEIN, AND MEETINGS WITH ASSAD, FAHD, AND ALLON WHICH WOULD PROBABLY BE FOLLOWED BY HIS OWN RETURN TO THE MIDDLE EAST. BY THAT TIME THE ISRAELI ELECTIONS WILL BE PAST AND PROCEDURAL IDEAS CAN BE DISCUSSED, WHICH MAY THEN CLEAR THE WAY TO RECONVENING THE GENEVA CONFERENCE IN THE FALL.

6. NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE: FOREIGN MINISTER GUIRINGAUD

NOTED THAT THE NORTH-SOUTH DIALOGUE IS ON THE AGENDA IN LONDON AND THAT ROY JENKINS WILL PARTICIPATE IN DISCUSSION OF THIS TOPIC SINCE THE NINE ACT COLLECTIVELY ON IT. FRANCE'S POSITION, HE SAID, IS THAT THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD NEEDS TO GET SOLID RESULTS FROM THE CIEC MINIS-
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TERIAL BUT NOT AT THE EXPENSE OF THE INDUSTRIAL WORLD'S INTERESTS. HE BELIEVED THAT THE DISCUSSIONS THUSFAR HAVE BEEN VERY HELPFUL IN SHOWING THE DEVELOPING WORLD HOW MUCH SHEER NONSENSE THERE WAS IN THE UNGA SPECIAL SESSION, THE MANILA PROGRAM AND UNCTAD. THE DEVELOPING WORLD HAS LEARNED PAINFULLY THAT THE OIL BLOCKADE HURT THEM MORE THAN THE INDUSTRIALS AND ADVANTAGED ONLY THE FEW OPEC COUNTRIES. GUIRINGAUD SAID THAT IF THE MINISTERIAL CIEC DOES NOT BRING ANY POSITIVE RESULTS, WE WOULD BE IN DANGER OF LOSING THE GROUND WE HAVE GAINED THUSFAR. HE POINTED OUT THAT FRANCE HAD TALKED GERMANY INTO GOING ALONG ON COMMODITY AGREEMENTS AND ON A COMMON FUND -- HE STIPULATED THAT THIS WAS NOT THE COMMON FUND AS ENVISIONED AT MANILA. AS A SIDELIGHT, HE COMMENTED THAT DUTCH PRIME MINISTER DEN UYL AND CHANCELLOR SCHMIDT HAD HAD A VIGOROUS DISAGREEMENT ON THIS MATTER THANKS TO WHAT HE TERMED PRONK'S PRO-DEVELOPING WORLD INFLUENCE ON DEN UYL. HOWEVER, THE NINE HAD AGREED ON CERTAIN GUIDING PRINCIPLES, THOUGH IT HAD NOT ESTABLISHED ITS NEGOTIATING POSITION IN DETAIL. IN GENERAL TERMS HE CHARACTERIZED THE NINE'S POSITION AS SUPPORT FOR COMMODITY AGREEMENTS, A COMMON FUND, A MEASURE OF STABILITY FOR DISADVANTAGED DEVELOPING NATIONS' EXPORTS AND AID FOR THE POOREST COUNTRIES WITH HEAVY STRUCTURAL DEBTS.

GUIRINGAUD INDICATED THAT FRANCE WOULD BE WILLING TO ENTER INTO SOME COMMODITY AGREEMENTS BUT NOT ON ALL PRODUCTS. HE ENVISAGED A COMMON FUND AS A CLEARING FUND TO PERMIT COMMODITY AGREEMENTS TO FUNCTION BUT NOT TO BE AN A PRIORI INTERVENING FORCE. HE HOPED THAT THE US WILL DEFINE ITS POSITION CLOSE TO OR PARALLEL TO THE POSITION OF THE EC AND THAT WE CAN ALL JOIN IN PERSUADING THE MODERATE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES TO RALLY TO THAT POSITION. IN ANY CASE THE EIGHT INDUSTRIAL COUNTRIES MUST HANG TOGETHER.
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THE SECRETARY NOTED THAT OUR POSITIONS ARE VERY

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CLOSE AND THAT OUR COORDINATING IS PROCEEDING WELL. THIS, HE SAID, MUST CONTINUE UNTIL THE CIEC MINISTERIAL. HE REPORTED A BRITISH SUGGESTION THAT THE EIGHT INDUSTRIALS REVEAL THEIR JOINT POSITION TO THE DEVELOPING COUNTRIES' DELEGATIONS EARLY ENOUGH SO THAT THE LATTER WILL HAVE TIME FOR RATIONAL AND CONSIDERED THOUGHT. THE BRITISH BELIEVE THAT THESE COUNTRIES POOR COMMUNICATIONS AND LACK OF TIME TO CONSIDER WESTERN POSITIONS HAVE IN THE PAST TENDED TO PROMOTE HASTY EXTREMISM IN REACTING TO WESTERN POSITIONS. THE SECRETARY THOUGHT THIS IDEA MERITED MAJOR CONSIDERATION.

FROMENT-MEURICE SAID THAT THE EC-9 COUNCIL WOULD DISCUSS THIS BRITIS- IDEA ON APRIL 5. HE SAID THAT THE FRENCH ARE NOT SURE THAT EARLY REVELATION IS ALL THAT GOOD. FOR ONE THING IT IS NOT CLEAR WHEN THE EIGHT INDUSTRIALS WILL HAVE AN AGREED POSITION. HE NOTED THAT A FIGURE FOR THE SIZE OF THE EC'S EXCEPTIONAL AID HAS ALREADY BEEN LEAKED BY ONE MEMBER. IN SHORT, HE SAID, WE CAN SEE THAT THERE ARE SOME DOUBTS IN FRANCE. THE SECRETARY RESPONDED BY REITERATING THAT HE HAD NOT YET REACHED A CONCLUSION AND AGREED THAT THE IDEA NEEDED STUDY.

7. AFTER A SHORT DISCUSSION OF WHAT WOULD BE SAID TO
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THE PRESS, THE MEETING ADJOURNED.

8. THE FOREIGN MINISTER PRIVATELY ASKED THE SECRETARY
TO PASS ON TO HIM THE RESULTS OF THE SECRETARY'S LATER
RESTRICTED MEETING WITH HIS BELGIAN OPPOSITE NUMBER.
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